

VICTORY *Through* **UNITY**

**Report to the Constituent Convention
of the Labor-Progressive Party**



10¢

By TIM BUCK

National Leader, Labor-Progressive Party

Victory Through Unity

Fellow Delegates:

We are gathered together in a momentous hour of world history. We have gathered in response to the needs of this momentous hour and the responsibilities that it brings forward for the labor movement. We are gathered to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of our efforts to help win the war. We are gathered to prepare ourselves for the part that we shall have to play in the forward march of Canadian democracy to a peace of security, unity, prosperity and progress.

This Convention is assembled as mankind is at the climax of the greatest and most terrible military conflict ever waged. We are assembled as it becomes clear that a favorable military decision in Europe is possible this year if our full military power engages the enemy at once.

The military situation is ripe for a combined all-out attack upon Nazi-held Europe. The clearest evidence of its ripeness and the German fear of such an attack, is to be seen in the current

official German radio propaganda appealing for a negotiated peace.

Why do the Nazis fear invasion? They fear it because the success attending the mighty offensive of the Red Army and the quick occupation of Sicily are clear proofs that the Nazi armies can be defeated this year, if the available military power of the United Nations is brought to bear against them on the continent of Europe, while the actions of the Italian people are a warning that great masses of the people of Europe are on the verge of revolt against their fascist oppressors.

In this climactic situation, it is a cause for grave concern that there is as yet no second front in Western Europe. What is even worse are the mounting signs of complacency—and even of calculated delay in high places.

For the Offensive Now!

This is the third summer during which the Red Army has borne the brunt of the fighting against 90 per cent of the Nazi forces actively engaged. "The urgent need for the establishment of a second front in Western Europe" was acknowledged in the joint statement issued by President Roosevelt and Foreign Minister Molotov more than a year ago but no second front in Europe was established. Various public statements have suggested the assurance of a second

front this year, but the people are becoming skeptical of such "assurances." The invincible national unity of the Soviet people and the heroism and efficiency of their Red Army has stopped all the Nazi onslaughts and worn down the Nazi military strength. On the Soviet front, the initiative is now in the hands of the Red Army. Marshal Stalin, its commander-in-chief, and his General Staff, have launched a mighty and audacious summer offensive which may drive the German armies right back to the Dnieper river. This great Soviet offensive pins down Hitler's main armies, as was shown when he could not bolster Italy's crumbling defences. This very fact makes the question of the immediate invasion of Europe an issue of supreme urgency.

The warfare on the Soviet front has been the greatest in extent and the most destructive ever known to man. It is self-evident that if the opening of a second front in Europe is delayed much longer, while the Red Army may succeed in expelling the Nazi armies from Soviet soil it may be unable to maintain the offensive power necessary to destroy the Nazi military effectiveness or advance beyond the frontiers. Such a situation would indeed be serious. It would enable the Nazi General Staff to re-organize its military forces and resources for a desperate defensive struggle. In

such a situation, the invasion of Europe would be incomparably more difficult than now.

Premier Churchill has issued an official denial that he, at any time, said the war will be over in six months—but the publicly known facts all tend to show that smashing blows **now** could bring victory in Europe by Christmas.

Deepening military and political crisis confronts Hitlerite Germany. Unable to even hope for military victory on the field of battle and shaken by the overthrow of Mussolini and the rising struggles of the oppressed nations, Hitler Germany is now exerting every effort to achieve victory by political and diplomatic manoeuvring. Everything to prevent combined United Nations' military offensive, to divide the United Nations, to reach a negotiated peace—this is the aim of Hitler Germany now.

All these considerations, high-lighted by the victory in Sicily, the rising clamor for peace in Italy and the proposals for a negotiated peace over the German government radio, cause anti-fascist people to look to the conference being held in Quebec City for historic decisions.

Yet, we must strike a note of alarm, lest complacency should cause us to stay our full war effort. This is the third summer the Soviet Union has been fighting the Nazi armies virtually alone. We cannot base our hopes for victory on the

assumption that the Soviet Union will be able to do this indefinitely. If the United Nations coalition has any military meaning, it is precisely a two-front war in Europe which alone can smash the Hitlerite armies this year, and thus make possible, in a relatively short time, the wiping out of the Japanese militarists.

All evasion of this central fact of the war amounts, actually, to giving in to reactionary influences, who blithely predict a "long war" and glibly talk of a "third, fourth, fifth and sixth front" in the air and on the sea.

This is not 1941. We have proven our military, air and naval superiority. Weakness is no longer an argument for delaying the invasion of the Continent in order to draw Nazi divisions away from the Eastern Front and to give body and strength to the coalition.

No, weakness is not an argument. The delay in opening the second front is of a political character—that is, certain reactionaries are still able to over-ride the military judgment of the general staffs.

If this goes on indefinitely, the United Nations coalition, which holds so much promise for humanity, will deteriorate, and friendly co-operation will give place to friction. I do not say the coalition will be destroyed; that is unthinkable.

But I do say that coercion and bad faith is bound to enter into the coalition.

Who will suffer most from such a deterioration? I think that Canada, Britain and the U.S.A., will suffer, because their future security depends on their continued collaboration, with the U.S.S.R., against any future aggressor. And, as the world knows, the U.S.S.R. has shown herself capable of defending herself from aggressors as no other country has.

Further delay in opening the second front in Europe will strain the timbers of the United Nations coalition. That is the grim truth we must face at this convention.

We are expressing the deepest sentiments of democratic Canadians when we declare that the working men and women, the farmers and middle class people, will support an invasion with all their energy. The movement represented by this convention stands pledged to subordinate all other immediate needs to the over-riding need to win the war. Active members of this movement have enlisted in the forces for overseas service in thousands. Members of this movement fought at Hong Kong, at Dieppe and in Sicily, as they fought for Loyalist Spain. We, who are privileged to attend this convention, pay tribute to our comrades who have already fallen in the struggle.

We call upon all sections of the labor-progres-

sive movement to redouble their efforts to win the war. It is our duty, as well as our right, to declare that the decisions of the Quebec conference will measure up to this historic situation only if they include the decision to invade Nazi-held Europe now. Anything less than that would nullify the slogan issued from Casablanca. The demand from this convention merges with the demand that is rising throughout the democratic world. **Open up a second front in western Europe! Develop mighty combined offensive operations with the Red Army! Smash the Nazi war machine this year in the jaws of a two-front war!**

CANADIANS DEMAND POLICIES OF TOTAL WAR!

We support every action of the Dominion government which helps to win the war. We shall continue to support all such governmental actions regardless of what party is in power. We are proud of the immense contribution of Canada to the United Nations' war effort. In this war for freedom Canada has achieved the stature of a power in world affairs.

The sweat, labor and sacrifices of the Canadian people have wrought miracles of industrial and agricultural production in this war—to transform this country into the fourth economic power of the United Nations.

Canada is proud of her fighting sons and daughters in the army, the air force, and on the seven seas. The people of Canada will back them up with everything Canada has or is capable of producing. Yet, immense as Canada's contribution has been, it is not—even at the end of this, the fourth year of the war—that full effort of which Canadian democracy is capable. The reason for this is that the government has lagged behind the people, and has not developed the policies needed to utilize to the full our people's strivings and determination for national unity and total war.

Canadian democracy demands all-out war policies to back the attack. The majority of Canadians are dissatisfied with the Dominion Government's conduct of the war effort. They are fed up with its studied evasion of fundamental issues—and sarcastic about its half-measures when such issues can no longer be ignored. Working people resent its systematic favors to powerful corporations that are making unprecedented profits, while it steadily increases the burdens placed upon the working people. Democratic Canadians are alarmed at its systematic concessions to pro-fascist elements while it maintains a rigid attitude towards labor—and hard-faced opposition to the struggle for social progress.

The majority of the people of Canada want an all-out democratic effort. They want an over-all

man-power plan, covering industry, agriculture, the armed services and essential civilian services, which allots to every Canadian that task or duty at which he or she can make the most effective contribution to winning the war. Under such a plan, the present avoidable crisis of manpower would disappear and men would be available for all branches of industry and the armed services.

Canadian democracy demands a democratic wartime Dominion labor code, a law which guarantees every worker the right to join the union of his or her own choice, machinery by which to designate the collective bargaining agency for the workers in any plant and compulsion upon the employer to deal with the workers through such a designated organization. They are demanding that the Dominion government revise its wartime wage policy, which at present is deliberately aimed to prevent any increase in basic wage rates. As a result of this policy, forty per cent of Canada's wage and salary earners are compelled to work for wages, only about half of what the government itself admits to be necessary to maintain a decent standard of life.

The majority of Canadians want clear-cut Dominion legislation, now, to guarantee that when our sons and daughters return from overseas there shall be a comprehensive system of civil re-establishment already in operation.

The people want measures to protect the family farm and to guarantee a fair relationship between the prices of agricultural products and manufactured goods. They want a Dominion taxation policy which taxes more in accord with the ability of the people to pay. They are demanding an end to the policy by which income tax now reduces a workers earnings to an amount less than that necessary to maintain a decent standard of life, while rich corporations are setting aside hundreds of millions of dollars in tax-free reserves.

The recent Ontario general election and the four federal by-elections on Aug. 9th, provided a sharp rebuke and a warning to the King government. The result in each case was a decisive repudiation of the policies of Mackenzie King. There is a growing sentiment throughout the country for a Dominion election. The King government must revise its policies, bring them into line with the people's needs and their demand for invasion of Hitler's Europe this year, or the King government will go down to overwhelming defeat when it is finally compelled to submit its record to the people.

In which direction are the people turning in their search for improvements? It is self-evident that they are turning leftward: not simply away from the King government, but away from both old capitalist parties. This is to be expected. It

is the logical outcome of present day developments.

Mackenzie King himself emphasized in a recent press interview that the trend in Canada is markedly towards social change. That basic fact is a determining factor in the deep-going regrouping that is taking place in Canadian politics. People turning away from the King Liberals in search of a government that offers hope of genuine social progress, can find nothing to inspire confidence in that other party of big capital, the Progressive-Conservatives. In their determination to achieve social progress, the people are turning towards the effort to elect new men, representing new ideas. The political opposition to Liberals and Tories in Canada, today, is the movement towards election of governments representing the workers and farmers—governments of social reform.

We, who are gathered here today, and the members that we represent are part of this great upsurge for national policies and sweeping reforms. We have the central task of playing a most active and important part in developing the political awareness which provides the driving force of this upsurge. The main channel through which this upsurge finds expression in electoral action is the C.C.F. The party which we are founding today will have a well-defined part to play in organizing this expression.

We shall play this part in every sphere of politics. This new party must build up the labor and farm organizations, help to extend independent working-class political action, fight for labor unity and for farmer-labor unity, actively seek out and achieve co-operation with the C.C.F., strive to elect our party candidates—in municipal, provincial and Dominion elections as champions of unity and national reforms. We have the aim of one united party of the working class. This new party will carry forward the proud traditions that we have established through twenty-two years of working-class struggle in Canada. Our party is the party of scientific Socialism in the march towards a new social order.

It is by these means that our new party will make its great contribution to political progress in Canada.

PEACE WILL BRING NEW PROBLEMS

We place all our emphasis upon the supreme need to win the war. Our slogan is: "Everything for the Fighting Fronts! Everything to win the War!"

But peace will bring new problems. The entire world is now geared to the war. Everything else is secondary. When the over-riding menace of Nazi enslavement is destroyed, the democratic

people of the world will be faced with the task of maintaining the broadest possible national and international unity for the purpose of literally building the world anew.

It is no accident that the question of what sort of world that shall be enters into every discussion of the war today. People know that when the fighting ends, Europe will be a devastated continent. Two hundred millions of people liberated from fascist tyranny after years of enslavement will be faced with the task of literally starting their lives anew. This is true of Europe; in part it is true of the whole world.

It is no wonder that millions of people are asking, "What sort of world shall we build when the fighting stops?" Neither is it surprising that the first reply that springs to the lips of every progressive man and woman is: "It must not be the sort of world that we left behind in 1939."

THE WORLD CAN BE FREE

After this war, the world must be free.

The world can be free after the war if freedom-loving men and women do their part. This People's War has brought about fundamental changes in the world and the relationships of peoples. The United Nations Alliance, as the instrument of world-wide military collaboration against the Axis, and the changed relationship between the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics and the great capitalist states, are but the most obvious expressions of this change.

The conditions which brought the United Nations Alliance into being also made possible national unity within the capitalist democracies in prosecution of the war. These conditions will merge with the new conditions created by a United Nations' victory. The struggle of the United Nations to defeat and destroy the fascist powers will merge with the democratic strivings of the people everywhere to achieve the promise of the Atlantic Charter, and the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt. It will be the sacred duty of all men and women who crave for peace and social progress to strive to maintain the largest possible measure of national unity in support of continued unity of the United Nations. Such unity can be the guarantee of a lasting peace, collective security and orderly social progress after victory has been gained.

The people of Europe, and the whole world, have been assured by the leaders of the United Nations that the people of all nations shall enjoy the right freely to choose their own governments and the type of national economy that they desire when the menace of fascist enslavement has been destroyed. As Roosevelt and Stalin and Churchill have each declared: **The people of all lands must**

be free to live on their own soil and rule it as they choose.

Can the people of Europe hope, realistically, for such a prospect? There are people in Canada, as elsewhere, who sneer and say, "No!" We reject such cynicism, which can lead only to passivity, and declare, "Yes!"

It is evident that such a policy will be carried into effect, in the spirit as well as the letter, only if the democratic forces are united and press forward. And, if they are united, far-reaching, orderly social progress can be achieved.

The war against the Axis will destroy not only the fascist military power and their governments but it will also weaken the political power of the great monopolies from whom, in the first place, the fascist organizations received support. The United Nations are appealing to the peoples of Europe to revolt against their fascist oppressors. They appealed to the people of Italy to throw off Mussolini and assert their nationhood. The people of Italy are following this advice and are demonstrating by their actions that they have no intention of accepting government by the interests for which Mussolini was, in the final analysis, only the armed guard. The anti-fascist people of France are as conscious that Laval is their enemy as well as Hitler. The people of Germany are beginning to learn that only the establishment of

a genuinely anti-Nazi government, truly representative of the people, can bring them peace and the freedom they desire.

It is in such conditions, while the military power of fascism is in process of being destroyed, that the democratic people of Europe are being drawn together and united in anti-fascist struggle for national freedom. Through this new-found unity and the struggles in which they are engaged, they are becoming united with the democratic people of the United Nations in the struggle for a free world. This unity includes men and women of all creeds and parties but who are united now by the single anti-fascist desire that their nations shall be free.

This is the new situation reflected in the dissolution of the Communist International. The terms in which the executive committee of the Comintern proposed that dissolution reflected these historic changes. They reflected the fact that a new epoch of great change is now opening. The character of this new period may be judged by the fact that, whereas in the years from 1917 to 1939 the first socialist state in the world stood isolated among the capitalist states, today, the world's first socialist state is a cornerstone of united world democracy, one of the three most powerful states of the world, one of the four states which must provide the organized basis for

world peace and human progress when the war has been won.

Such are the signs that the path of human progress has been materially conditioned by the war. Such is the evidence that the defeat of Hitlerism in Europe and Japan in Asia will open up the possibilities for far-reaching social progress by orderly means for the peoples of the world.

WHY WE ARE ORGANIZING A NEW PARTY

It is out of the above described conditions in Canada and the world that our new party is being born.

The fact that the King government insists upon maintaining a ban against the Communist Party of Canada is, of course, a big factor in the founding of the party that we are gathered here to establish. At the same time, it must be emphasized that the new party we are establishing here today is called forth by the new conditions which I have just described—quite apart from the undemocratic policy personified by Mr. Louis St. Laurent. In the coming months, momentous issues will confront the people of Canada. We shall be faced with historic alternatives. The adoption of democratic Canadian policies in foreign affairs, the struggle for sweeping national reforms in domestic affairs, the role of govern-

ment in the maintenance of national prosperity and the cementing of unity between the two great peoples, French and English-speaking, of our country—these must all be faced and decided upon. Our decisions as a nation on these issues will determine whether Canada shall go forward or if we shall go back.

These great issues will be fought out, in the main, on the field of parliamentary activity. Within the next two years there will be half a dozen Provincial elections and a Dominion election, and the governments chosen will be the ones to direct the policies of Canada during the post-war years. Those governments will determine whether Canada shall have national prosperity with social security for all her people from the cradle to the grave, or shall slip back into the chaos of mass unemployment, evictions from homes and farms, bankruptcy for small business and frustration for the youth, which characterized our country during the decade of crisis and depression before the war. They will be the governments which will determine whether Canada shall stand on the international field for close co-operation with the U.S.S.R., in establishing peace in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, or whether Canada shall again give silent support to those sinister and very powerful reactionary circles which aim to make the post-war years a period of renewed imperialist

rivalry and struggle for advantage in Europe, the Far East and other parts of the world.

We declare that the aim and purpose of all governmental policies in Canada after the war must be the maintenance of national prosperity and social security for all our people. We declare that Canada's greatest opportunity to help assure democratic peace and progress in the world, coincides with her own present and future trade interests and security from aggression. It lies in her independent but intimate association with the United States, Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China, on a basis of voluntary co-operation in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, as part of an active independent role in the world-wide organization for collective security. Such are the policies, domestic and foreign, for which we fight now—and for which we will continue to fight in the post-war period. It is obvious that we can make our most effective contribution to this struggle for national welfare if we are united in our own party—to carry on the struggle in every sphere of political activity and on a national scale.

What sort of organization should our party be? Every delegate here will agree it must be a mass party. As a product of the Canadian working-class movement, expressing the needs and aspirations of the Canadian workers and farmers, our

party must carry forward, in accord with the new conditions in Canada and the world, the spirit of the teachings of Marxism, of scientific Socialism: the historic policy of uniting the working men and women with the farmers and middle class people in defence of their immediate needs today and the cause of their ultimate emancipation through the fundamental transformation of society.

No struggle is too small for such a party, or for unity with other democratic forces to carry it through. No struggle is too big for the working class to win if unity is achieved. The aim of our party is to make Canada great. Our party will carry forward the struggle for policies making towards that objective: by its daily activities, educational, agitational and organizational activity around every issue of our national life. A daily task of our party will be to build up and strengthen support for trade union unity and for a single, united working-class political party, dedicated to the achievement of Socialism.

What should be the name of a party such as we are going to build?

It is clear that the name that we select will have an important bearing upon the extent to which we are able to win new circles of workers and farmers to join its ranks. It will have even more effect upon the support that our candidates

receive at the polls. Proud as we are of the fighting traditions and the record of socialist achievements that have been established under our previous historic name, the fact remains that twenty-five years of lying slander has created widespread prejudice, and even fear, which makes the very word "Communist" a barrier to hundreds of thousands of sincere people who are otherwise receptive to progressive political proposals.

Many earnest comrades feel that to drop the word Communist from the name of our party would be a retreat, a concession to prejudice, which we should defy. The seriousness and earnestness of such comrades is unquestionable but they are, in fact, proposing to sacrifice the political substance for the form. There were some equally sincere comrades who felt that we should adopt the same sort of attitude when it became clear that the King government had no intention of lifting the ban. Had we allowed ourselves to be governed by such reasoning, it is doubtful if we should be gathered here in constituent convention today.

We are here because we recognized that, if we would make our most effective contribution to working-class strength and progress, our job was to be equal to the new situation—to organize a new party and become a powerful force in the political life of Canada. This we are now doing,

and I am sure the results will completely vindicate our decision. Because we here establish a party which has grown out of Canadian conditions and reflects all the interests of the Canadian working class, it would be shortsighted to deliberately limit its growth and its parliamentary influence by retaining a name which would stand between us and large sections of democratic men and women. To do that would be contrary to the interests of the Canadian working class.

The new situation demands that the new party should combine the finest traditions of the 25 years of struggle of the Communists of Canada with the thousands of fresh workers who are approaching Socialism on a new basis.

It demands that we broaden our political approach—to meet these masses.

It demands that we tear out of the hands of reactionaries the Hitler red bogey, the weapon of "Communism."

Our party is the party of the working class—of all those who labor by hand or brain. It is supported by progressive people of other classes, especially farmers and professional people. For years, our candidates have contested elections as Labor-Progressive candidates. We have with us today delegates, J. B. Salsberg, A. A. MacLeod and Fred Rose, who were elected under that banner only two weeks ago. These three stalwarts

along with our tested fighters for democracy, Bill Kardash, M.L.A., and our chairman, Dorise Nielsen, M.P., constitute the nucleus of the growing band of fighting Labor-Progressives that the people are going to elect to represent them in the provincial and Dominion legislatures. Because of these things, the Program Committee meeting this morning, voted to propose to the Convention that the name of our party shall be: **"The Labor-Progressive Party."** It will be the task of the membership to make that name the proudest title in Canadian politics.

OUR ACTION PROGRAM FOR POST-WAR PROSPERITY

The first job of our party and of all Canadians in planning post-war prosperity is to secure it at home. The sort of influence that Canada exerts in the making of the peace will depend upon what sort of governments we have, and the policies they follow at home.

The crucial test of all government policies in the post-war period will be the question: **"Does it help to ensure a decent and rising standard of life for all Canadians?"**

What is the primary requirement for the maintenance of national prosperity after the war? The primary and indispensable requirement is that the national income be maintained at a suf-

ficiently high level to maintain the purchasing power of the people. Can this be done? Yes, it can! The war has proved beyond all possibility of doubt that it can be done if the government pursues appropriate policies. Even today, under the measure of state capitalism now operating, the level of the national income is being determined by government policy. The Dominion government determines what the national income shall be, how that income shall be distributed, and re-distributed by taxation, loans and savings. The government determines the volume of goods of various kinds which are to be produced. The government regulates prices, the government controls wages, and the government decides as to whether or not new industries shall be established.

The people do not want to go back to the conditions that prevailed in 1939. This convention identifies itself absolutely with that determination. This convention declares that the sacrifices necessary to win this war must not be made in vain. The blood, sweat, toil and tears of a whole generation must not be allowed to simply fertilize the soil for a new era of insecurity and want—as the prelude to a new and more terrible war. This is not to suggest that the present war is a war for socialism. As we point out in our program, it is not a war for socialism but a war for national freedom and liberation. But, implicit in

the anti-fascist unity of the Canadian people and the heroism of our armed forces, there is a stern resolve that the scourges of want, fear, unemployment and insecurity shall not be allowed to reappear in Canada after the military power of the Axis has been destroyed.

This convention must issue a clarion call to all democratic forces in Canada to join hands in united struggle to back up that resolve. We call upon all progressive forces to co-operate in the effort to elect governments which will base themselves squarely upon the need for policies of the following type for the post-war years. To help to clarify and make popular these policies, we advance the following legislative platform:

PLATFORM OF THE LABOR- PROGRESSIVE PARTY

OFFENSIVE NOW—AND A PEOPLE'S PEACE!

1. Invade Europe now—for Speedy Victory.

Strengthen United Nations unity — Establish full military and political teamwork of the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R.

2. Active Canadian leadership in helping shape United Nations policies, and in laying secure foundation for a people's peace—democratic rebuilding of Europe, application of Atlantic Char-

ter freedoms in the colonies, world organization for true collective security.

FULL POST-WAR PROSPERITY FOR ALL!

3. Jobs for All—Enactment now of Dominion legislation establishing provision for full employment at productive work and adequate wages for every able-bodied Canadian.

STAND BY OUR FIGHTING MEN!

4. Enactment now of guarantee by Dominion Government pledging to men and women in Canada's armed forces: a job upon demobilization, with pay and allowances until employment begins; generous discharge gratuity; training with pay in new trades or professions; first class medical care and hospitalization; generous pensions for the disabled and for bereaved families.

5. Federal Social Security Legislation providing all who labor by hand or brain with non-contributory unemployment insurance, adequate national health insurance, medical care and maternity benefits, old-age pensions at 60. All pensions to be tax-exempt.

6. Housing—Slum Clearance: a Billion Dollar

federal housing program for postwar slum clearance and low-rental dwelling construction.

7. A Democratic National Labor Code effectively guaranteeing right of worker to join union of his choice and obligation of employer to recognize and bargain collectively with agency designated by democratic procedure; outlaw company unions; establish genuine labor-management-government partnership in production committees and on all government boards and agencies.

8. Raise Substandard Wages—Wage equality for Quebec's workers with those of other provinces—equal pay for equal work for women, and young people. Establish a national minimum wage of \$25 weekly for all workers.

9. Protect the Family Farm! Legislation to establish prices of farm products in stable relation to those of industrial goods; long-term low-interest federal credits to farmers, crop insurance and guaranteed farm tenure. For a National Agricultural Policy to protect the family farm!

10. Canada's Youth—Builders of post-war Canada—Set up a National Youth Administration to work out measures in co-operation with youth leaders, for training of young people and enabling them to play their full part in work of reconstruction, in making Canada a land they will be happy to inherit. Extension of the franchise to all who reach the age of 18.

11. Curb the Monopolies—Maintain Government ownership and operation of wartime plants built with public funds, converting them to peace-time public service; nationalize monopolies which flout the national interest and interfere with democratic reconstruction. Protect the interests and rights of small business people.

12. Democratic Tax Reform—Base taxation on ability to pay; exempt all sub-standard incomes. Increased corporation income tax, a surtax on undistributed profits, and graduated inheritance tax. Abolish the sales tax.

STRENGTHEN CANADIAN DEMOCRACY

13. Bring Canada's Constitution up to date—Amend the Statute of Westminster and the B.N.A. Act to give Canada's Parliament the power to amend the Constitution and protect provincial rights; establish specific constitutional guarantees of the national rights of French Canada, including full language equality, and provincial control of education and other cultural matters in Quebec. Guarantee Quebec an adequate proportion of seats in Parliament. Eliminate persisting national inequalities in French Canada.

Reform the election laws—Canada needs proportional representation.

Guarantee full rights of citizenship to all Canadians—protect immigrant workers from discrimination—make Anti-Semitism a punishable offence.

Abolish the Senate. Abolish appeals to the Privy Council. Adopt a distinctive national flag for Canada, and an official national anthem.

14. Establish federal responsibility for social services, powers to control monopolies anywhere in the Dominion, a national standard of education.

THROUGH UNITY TO VICTORY FOR PROGRESS!

DEFEAT THE PROGRAM OF REACTION!

Let it be emphasized, with all the power of which we are capable, that if the democratic forces fail to co-operate in electing farmer-labor governments which will carry such policies through, there is a serious danger that we shall get governments made up of men who are determined to get Canada back to conditions similar to those which prevailed in 1939.

Those interests are much more powerful than the average Canadian imagines. The wide-spread and systematic campaign now being pressed, advocating the advantages of so-called "free enterprise," is but a part of their organized effort to prevent any far-reaching progressive change in national policies when the war is over.

What do these interests propose for the post-war period? In popular propaganda, they speak of "free enterprise." But in their own circles they admit that a return to the system of free competition in Canada is impossible.

What they actually propose is a modification of capitalism which they are beginning to refer to as a "compensated economy." What do they mean by this term? They mean national policies under which the great monopolies will have all the advantages of market domination which they enjoyed before the war, while the governments assume the obligation of maintaining scarcity, helping to maintain prices, while providing a cushion against the exceptionally severe unemployment which the monopolists expect.

Such is the essence of the policies put forward in the plan submitted to the Dominion government by Mr. C. L. Burton, president of Simpson's Ltd. of Toronto.

The essential features of the Burton plan are as follows:

(a) All the large government plants built during the war, to be turned over to private ownership or stripped of their machinery and equipment and excluded from use as producing plants.

(b) Tax exemptions to corporations to help them build up large tax-free reserves.

(c) Working men and women who were not employed in industry before the war to be turned out of industry when the war is over.

(d) Industry to revert to the same basis that it operated on before the war.

(e) Dominion, Provincial and Municipal governments to initiate public works to provide employment **only in emergencies.**

This convention joins with the majority of the people of Canada in rejecting those proposals. We reject the proposal that hundreds of modern factories, built at public expense, should be stripped of their machinery and left to decay in idleness. This convention must warn the people of Canada that the purpose of Mr. Burton's proposal is to reduce the productive capacity of Canadian industry so as to maintain higher prices for the monopolies, to ensure mass unemployment so that wages can be forced down. The workers and farmers of Canada must defeat that proposal. They must unite their forces in support of policies which will make increased production and a higher standard of life, a national aim. Instead of hundreds of plants being abandoned, these plants must be used to expand the production of the necessities of life to an unprecedented volume. Instead of Canada's great new industries being destroyed for the benefit of private monopolies, the private monopoly enterprises must be brought

under control, subordinated to the national welfare, and made an integral part in the nation's economy—which must operate to serve the interests of the nation as a whole.

LABOR UNITY—THE KEY TO PROGRESS

The problem of united, independent labor-farmer political action is the most urgent question facing the forces of Canadian democracy.

Co-operation of the C.C.F. and the movement we represent, together with the great forces of the labor unions and the farmers' movement opens up the realizable fighting prospect of the election of labor-farmer majorities in several provinces where elections are looming, and a labor-farmer majority at Ottawa, perhaps before the end of 1944. The labor-farmer movements of our country are faced with such prospects and tasks—the winning of majorities and the assumption of Government office.

Along this path we could look forward to an eventual united national convention and the possibility of one united political party of the Canadian working class.

The importance of these questions is most clearly illustrated by the results of the recent elections in Ontario. It is now obvious that if there had been co-operation, between the C.C.F. and the

Labor-Progressives, the labor unions and the farm groups in that election, a majority of labor and farmer M.P.P.'s could have been elected. Let it be emphasized that, even with the C.C.F. carrying on a province-wide campaign against the idea of such unity, 34 C.C.F. candidates and two Labor-Progressives were elected. Since the election it has become crystal-clear that such co-operation would have ensured the election of candidates in more than enough additional constituencies to have made them the largest group in the new legislature.

The importance of this question was illustrated likewise by the results of the by-election in Carriar. Fred Rose was elected by a narrow majority over the anti-war pro-fascist candidate of the Bloc Populaire. But David Lewis, the national secretary of the C.C.F. secured 3,000 votes. We assume that the majority of his votes were from progressive people, in which case it is clear that his candidature reduced Fred Rose's majority to dangerously narrow proportions. Had that seat been lost to labor, and captured by the fascist-minded candidate of the Bloc Populaire, it would have been because of the failure to achieve agreement between the Communists and th C.C.F.

We are part of this growing upsurge of the workers and farmers. Not only do we unreservedly identify ourselves with this movement for

Canadian national policies and sweeping reforms, but as a party we must look upon our central task as one of strengthening this movement in every possible way. In practical terms, this means waging a stern fight for the unity of the labor and farm movements for independent political action. The main electoral avenue through which this action is now proceeding is the C.C.F. But the C.C.F. is not synonymous with the whole labor movement and its program of action. Consequently, unity in action between the C.C.F. and all other sections of the labor and farm movements is the key link which must yet be forged.

I believe the forging of this link is the central question of working class politics today in Canada, for unless this is done, the splendid vistas of progress after the war can become illusory mirages. It seems to me that this convention can best serve the interests of labor and the nation by making practical suggestions to the C.C.F. for changing its present policy of exclusiveness into one of extending the C.C.F. to becoming a broad federation of all trade union, farmer and Socialist groups, united around those wartime and peacetime policies which are now being demanded by vast numbers of Canadians, and which are not the private property of any one party or group.

Such a program of struggle for unity comes straight out of the minds and hearts of the most

active and farsighted working men and women—in the C.C.F., in the factories and unions, and in our own new party.

It will not be gainsaid. It is an issue which cannot be evaded or brushed aside. Failure to get labor unity will have fatal results. The Canadian people have learned the tragic lessons of disunity in Germany and France. Not so much the niceties of argument but the active intervention of the workers themselves will decide the battle for a united labor movement.

Old, moth-eaten arguments no longer suffice to meet new conditions. I appeal to all members of the labor movement, and especially to the C.C.F., to rise to these new responsibilities and to cast aside prejudice and blind partisanship.

Our party, which is being founded at this convention, will seek to establish the closest possible relations with the Socialist-minded masses who are members or supporters of the C.C.F. We shall seek to establish such relations with the aim of joint activity. We shall co-operate with members and supporters of the C.C.F. in the factories, in the trade union movement, and in every phase of community life, as well as political activity with a view to achieving unity in action for the common interests of the working class and the nation. Our aim is one united political party of the working class in Canada.

One of the most outstanding effects of the war upon Canada has been the increase of trade union membership. The membership of the trade union movement, along with their families, constitutes almost 25 per cent of the entire population—and they are concentrated mainly in the urban centres. The labor unions are becoming a powerful factor in the life of our country. In the chief industrial centres of Ontario, as well as in Montreal-Cartier, the labor unions played a decisive part in the political victories of the C.C.F. and Labor-Progressives. By virtue of the role of the labor movement in the war and wartime legislation, trade unions are playing an increasingly independent political role. Thus, the Dominion Government was compelled to re-organize the National War Labor Board and the Board's public inquiry was held principally because of pressure from the labor movement demanding action to strengthen the war effort. The leadership of the trade union movement has voluntarily accepted a share of responsibility for winning the war. Questions of wages and working conditions have become questions between union leadership and government bodies, rather than between the unions and employers alone. Negotiations of such questions have become matters of political significance. The struggle to defend the economic interests of the working people is, increasingly, taking the form

of a political struggle. The struggle to build the trade union movement today is a struggle to show the majority of people that the interests of the trade unions representing the workers are also the best interests of Canada.

As a result of these developments there is a growing realization that what the working people need is unity. The workers employed in a shipyard may be members of either an A. F. of L. or C.I.O. union; it does not prevent them working for the same employer. The average worker does not feel vicious towards his fellow worker who is a member of another union. On the contrary, most of them feel very strongly that it is just too bad they are divided. The workers realize that it is only because so much of their energy is spent in the inter-union struggles that the Canadian workers are not organized more strongly than they are. If we had one national trade union centre in Canada, or if the two national centres would co-operate on common policies and avoid jurisdictional conflicts, we could have a million workers organized in Canada this year.

SOCIALISM — THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION

We are living in an epoch of tremendous change. The changes being compelled by the war and carried through under pressure of a turbulent

upsurge of popular action, are parts of a fundamental change in the character of society. In the process of this change, the democratic peoples can profit by the historic experience of the people of the U.S.S.R. Under the magnificent leadership of Stalin, the world's first socialist state has become an inspiration and a guiding example for the workers and progressive people everywhere. It is the one land in the world in which the people have abolished capitalist exploitation, class divisions, illiteracy, unemployment and want. It is the one land in the world in which there is complete fraternity of nationalities. It is the living example of the correctness of the profound teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism, and of the immeasurable capacity of the people to build a new, fruitful and happy life under socialism.

Canada, also, is undergoing far-reaching social change. This development cannot cease with victory over the Axis. It must continue and be carried forward to new and higher social achievements. The masses of Canada's people sense the need for social change. They are unwilling to return to pre-war conditions. The glowing example of the achievements of socialist society in the U.S.S.R., is convincing ever wider circles of the need for a social system of production in Canada which operates entirely to serve the needs of the people. The

Canadian working-class movement must emblazon upon its banners the slogan of Socialism!

The Socialist state is the state of the broader and richer democracy of tomorrow. It is the state in which there is no want; the state of freer, more prosperous and more cultured people, the state of the transition to a higher stage of civilization. **The path to Socialism is the path to happiness for the Canadian people.**

Socialism is the collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution of the necessities of life — the land, factories, mines, mills and banks and transportation and communication systems. Socialism means transferring the ownership of the great socially created industries from the small group of monopolists to the people as a whole: the conversion of the means of wealth production into public property and its operation in the interests of the nation.

It means to free the industrial worker from exploitation by the capitalist, the small farmer from the domination of the trusts and mortgage companies, the small business man from the domination of the monopolies.

This great transformation will occupy a whole epoch of Canadian life. It is the historical task of the working class to lead the majority of the people to this transformation and through it to that highest form of society, Communism. It will

be the proud aim of the party that we are founding, to help develop within the working class, consciousness of its historic role. To unite the most advanced sections of the workers, to help strengthen and direct the growing democratic initiative of our people, to develop to new heights our democratic institutions and aspirations—this is our task!

In this struggle, we seek to unite English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in mutual respect and comradeship in the struggle for mutual betterment and a high ideal. We dedicate ourselves to the unhampered development of Canadian science, literature, art and education. Every true expression of our national spirit is at the same time a contribution to the cultural wealth of all humanity and a stride forward along the path of progress.

The draft program which the program committee is submitting to this convention is based upon the entire perspective and tasks that flow out of our dedication to United Nations' victory and the continuing struggle towards a higher social order.

Our party will base itself firmly upon the rich storehouse of experience and theory transmitted to us by the great Canadian fighters for democracy and the people's rights, and by the founders and elaborators of scientific Socialism. Our party

will base itself firmly upon the will of the majority of the people. We shall strive to convince the people of the correctness of our policies by the same methods as, and by no other methods than, the other political parties in Canada. We are confident that eventually the majority of our fellow Canadians will understand and support the policies we advocate; because they are the policies which meet the needs of the Canadian people and will bring the greatest advantage to our country.

We have a vision of a great Canada; a Canada in which all the people will be truly free, economically and politically—a Canada whose magnificent resources shall belong to the people as a whole and be used to provide them with the means for a full and happy life.

It is for the achievement of these high purposes, and the realization of this rich vision of Canada's destiny, that we, here, in brotherhood with all democratic Canadians, establish our new party—the party of the working men and women of Canada in their struggle for victory in the war, prosperity in the peace and the achievement of a socialist Canada.

Speech of Acceptance

On His Nomination As
National Leader

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Friends:

I want to thank you most sincerely for the honor that you bestowed upon me this evening. I also want to point out that, while it would be a mistake to quibble as to qualifications which I or any one of us might have, it would also be a mistake to fail to mention the fact that any positive qualities I may possess, have been given to me by my participation in the labor movement and, particularly, the Communist movement in Canada. In this development I have been helped by those many other comrades who have given their all to the building of this movement. If my election here this evening signifies any single thing above all others, it signifies your endorsement of the work of a collective effort which we have carried on as a group. Every member of that group is entitled to any credit that is due to the group as a whole. No single one of us has been the sole initiator or the sole driving force.

This convention marks a new stride in the forward march of the labor movement of Canada. It is a demonstration of the rising political consciousness of the people of Canada. What we are doing in this convention is to step forward and take our place in this mighty surge towards labor political action which is driving forward in Canada today—driving forward for victory in the war, to open the way for prosperity in the peace. . . . What we have done here has been to carry that popular movement a stage further. We are an integral part of the invincible forward march of the democratic people.

This Convention combines the best traditions of the struggles of the past and the beginning of now and higher political struggles of the future. I was impressed yesterday in speaking to a comrade who is an observer, but who has not missed one minute of this Convention, to learn that he was a member of the old Labor Representation Committee in England in 1902, before the British Labor Party came into existence. For those of you who have not had time to study the history of the British Labor Party, it is worthwhile to point out that the beginning of independent labor political action in the trade union movement of Britain started with the running of liberal-labor candidates, and then under the impetus of those members such as Comrade Goss's

father, who realized the importance of the working class breaking away and making itself independent of the capitalist parties, the Labor Representation Committee was set up to co-ordinate the activities of the trade union movement in running independent candidates. This committee functioned for three years before there was sufficient confidence to enable the movement to set up its own party. There is a comrade here at this Convention who was a member of that committee in 1902.

I mention this because it is important that we should remember the continuity of the labor movement. Nothing is ever lost in our movement. It is this unbreakable continuity of the movement that provides our strength and our inspiration. We are a part of this continuity. We are an integral part of the invincible forward march of democracy in the struggle to defeat fascism and, in defeating fascism, to remove fascism as a barrier against social progress. We are an integral part of this, not only by giving moral support, not only in speeches, but in our physical participation in the struggles.

We have been in the struggle against fascism ever since it started. We speak with reverent respect and love of the 600 Canadian Communists who laid down their lives in defence of democracy in Spain. One of the great figures in the history of Canada was one of Canada's outstanding Com-

munists, Dr. Norman Bethune, who laid down his life in the struggle against Japanese aggression in China.

Today our members are maintaining that tradition. Members of the Labor-Progressive Party who are of military age and fit for service join the armed forces. Thousands of them are in the armed forces today. Supporters of the Labor-Progressive Party, or men who would have been here as delegates, fought at Hong Kong. Men who would have been here as delegates laid down their lives at Dieppe and are fighting and laying down their lives in Sicily today. Comrade Helen Anderson, who spoke those beautiful words in support of my nomination, is the widow of Comrade Hugh Anderson who was one of the first casualties of the First Canadian Division in Sicily. We are proud of these things. I don't mention them here simply because we are proud of them but because they make us an integral part of the invincible forward march of the people. We do the things we ask other people to do and we try to do them better — with more fervor and more devotion than we expect most other people to do them.

In the years gone by we were inspired by these sentiments, but we often used to make the mistake of thinking that the proper way to lead the progressive movement was to emphasize the things

which made us seem different from other people. We have learned, both from Lenin and from life, that the proper way to lead the progressive movement is to emphasize those things that show us to be the same as other people. The sectarian emphasizes his differences. A movement which really leads the masses solidarizes itself with the desires of the masses and supports their healthy aspirations. One of the surest tests of our learning in this respect is the fact that this convention has realistically associated itself with every immediate interest of the Canadian people. We have adopted a program here drawn out of the very life of Canada; a program which reflects the democratic growth of Canada, expresses the urgent popular needs of Canada, and expresses the aspirations of the people in terms in which they give voice to them. This Party is the Party of the working class. It is a product of the working-class movement. It has grown out of the loins of the working class. Because of this, because this Party of ours is organically united with all the forces that are struggling for victory over world fascism, because the comrades who spoke from this platform in uniform are the spokesmen for hundreds of thousand of men and women in the armed forces, and because of the fact that we represent that section of the Canadian people which is most highly conscious of the need for

victory, it is necessary for us to emphasize that central task of democracy for which we are called upon to rally the most united support today—that is the task of strengthening the United Nations alliance.

The significance of the United Nations alliance goes much further and deeper than a military significance alone. It marks the opening of a new era of history. The United Nations alliance signalizes the beginning of intimate collaboration between the first Socialist state and the great capitalist states. Collaboration — for what? To destroy fascism, on the basis of a pledge that after victory the people of all nations must have the right to live on their own soil and to rule it as they choose.

Victory and the carrying through of such a pledge, would mean the opening of a new era; and the United Nations alliance must be understood in that sense. This is decisive for Canada. Do not make the mistake of thinking that it is decisive only for Great Britain or the Soviet Union. In this new period of world history Canada's future depends upon the United Nations alliance almost as decisively as man's future depends upon food. Canada is the next-door neighbor to the United States, and to the U.S.S.R., and the land and air highway between them. As a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations,

Canada is at the same time a link not only between Britain and the United States, but between the United States and the U.S.S.R. and between all three of them.

Canada will go forward in peace and democracy to a higher life, if the unity of Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. is maintained. She will go down, perhaps even to destruction, if that unity is broken. We cannot evade the implications of our position between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and the whole future of Canada is bound to be integrally united with those countries. Even insofar as Canadian trade is concerned, from the point of view of the narrowest capitalist interests, this will be decisive.

What are the alternatives that confront us? The alternatives are: the strengthening of the United Nations alliance, in which case it will be the instrument for military victory and for the development of world-wide collaboration and collective security, in which the world will move forward to tremendous democratic advance, or reversion to a world struggle for colonial domination, for trade, for territorial advantage—that old imperialist struggle for power.

This is not a question of the interests of the Soviet Union as against the interests of some other country. This is a question of the interests of Canada, of progress in Canada versus disaster

for Canada. Because of this, I feel called upon to emphasize the fact that, even while this Convention has been in progress, there have been signs which are cause for grave concern. Signs that, instead of growing stronger, the United Nations alliance is in danger of being shaken.

The Quebec conference has not yet given any evidence that the conferees are making decisions to invade Nazi-held Europe this year. On the contrary, I regret to say that such evidence as is available up to this moment points in the direction of a decision not to invade Europe this year. In fact, it is significant that the day after Mr. Churchill met with President Roosevelt, a prominent spokesman of the American Government gave a special press interview in which he stated that we still have a long, long way to go, that the Red Army is engaging less than half of Hitler's armies and that we are not yet in a position to engage the other half, and it is going to be a long, long war.

It would be folly to ignore the disturbing reports which have appeared in the press recently. For example, it was reported only yesterday, that a representative of the Soviet Government accredited as its diplomatic representative to the French Committee of National Liberation has been refused permission to enter Algiers. Whether this obstruction comes from the British

Government, the American Government, or from General Eisenhower alone, is not the question. The fact is that while the Soviet people and their Red Army are bearing the brunt of the fighting, a diplomatic representative of the Soviet Government has been prevented, for two months now, from entering territory in the control of Britain and the United States.

Secondly, it has been common knowledge for more than a week now that Edouard Benes, President of the Czecho-Slovakian government in exile, has been prevented from going to Moscow to conclude a Russian-Czech treaty because of his inability to secure a visa and travelling facilities from the British Government.

Thirdly, it is now commonly known that the British and American governments, with the co-operation of the King government in Canada, are teaching to a large corps of men the languages of the various countries now occupied by Hitler and Mussolini and the elementary principles of civic administration. A large organization is being established, fully equipped to take over the civil administrations of Germany and the other countries now occupied by the fascists. It has recently become known that this activity is being carried on against the wishes of the various governments in exile and in the face of protests from some of them. It is easy to understand why these

activities create distrust among wide sections of the democratic people concerning the real plans for the post-war settlement of Europe. It has been declared by Roosevelt and Churchill, as well as other outstanding leaders of the United Nations, that the people of Europe shall be given an opportunity freely to choose their own governments and the form of economy that they desire after their countries are liberated.

It is necessary for all democratic people to realize that the future of the world will depend very largely upon the extent to which such plans are carried through. We must insist that the terms of the Atlantic Charter be carried out. The Four Freedoms announced by President Roosevelt cannot be imposed upon the nations at bayonet-point. They can only be real when the people are free to establish them themselves.

Is the military strategy, is the political attitude suggested by these things in the interests of democracy? Is it in the interests of the hundreds of millions of people who want to see Hitler fascism defeated? Is it in the interests of Canada? Can we afford to agree that it might be alright to let the war drag on for another year or so? And here we do not have to ask ourselves what the effect would be on the Soviet Union. We know that the people of the Soviet Union and the Red Army are and will be able to take

care of themselves. They are going to drive the Germans from Soviet soil. The question is, can the rest of the democratic world afford to have the Nazi forces remain dominant in the rest of Europe after they are ousted from the U.S.S.R.?

The United Nations Alliance rests upon political agreement. It cannot be strong on any other basis. Only so long as there is political agreement in the carrying through of common tasks will the United Nations Alliance remain strong. If these common tasks are carried through in warm co-operation to victory, the United Nations Alliance is that much more likely to be a vital force for democracy when this war is over.

Every democratic Canadian hailed the splendid meetings of tribute to the Soviet Union and the formation of the Committee for Canadian Soviet Friendship. But I must say that committees for friendship with the Soviet Union can only be a reflection of political agreement. It is useless to have meetings of tribute to the Soviet Union if there is a danger that even while those meetings are taking place there is a weakening of the alliance.* I do not think there is a weaken-

* The Financial Post comment upon the Quebec conference, written by its Washington correspondent, who is also Washington commentator for the CBC, was definitely anti-Soviet in tone.

ing of the alliance, but it must be realized that its firmness depends upon the strength of the democratic support behind it.

The only thing that can guarantee the defeat of Hitler is all-out military action on every front. All-out military action on every front can bring victory this year.

Large-scale invasion of Hitler's Europe could bring a decision this year and I advocate invasion for Canada's sake—because our thousands of boys who are in England, waiting for the word that the invasion is on, want to get home. Our sons and daughters want to get into action to knock out Hitler now: to make sure that the terms of "Unconditional Surrender" are really imposed.

The decisive centre of the war is still Nazi-held Europe and its battle fronts. The soldiers of the United Nations are ready for the invasion. Our boys are ready to go. The Labor-Progressive Party is going to urge the people to demand of Mackenzie King that he place his government on public record in favor of the invasion **this year!**

We are the party of victory in the war—not the only party, for other parties are for victory in the war—but we are the party which ties in its war program with the whole vista of human progress; which realizes that this struggle for victory in the war is really the struggle to de-

termine whether mankind will be able to go forward or shall be forced back. We subordinate every other immediate interest to that of achieving victory. This convention does not modify by one word or one iota our stand on the question of national unity, on the struggle to increase production, on the question of labor-management production committees, on the building up of the armed forces, and on the willingness of our civilian population to put up with any amount of sacrifices as long as those sacrifices are part of the struggle to achieve a successful conclusion to the war. And, because we are that sort of a party, we are the party of the youth of Canada. We are the party of victory and the future. Many of us in this room have sons and daughters in the armed forces. Many of us in this room realize that so far as we are concerned the test of our work and of the effectiveness of our new party will be measured by whether those boys and girls come back to a land of opportunity or to a postwar world which reminds them of 1939. We are going to make sure that they don't come back to such a Canada as that. We are going to make sure that, by our fight for the program of postwar reforms set forth in our manifesto, the whole democratic movement of Canada shall be mobilized and made conscious of the fact that the struggle in Canada today is for victory and

that victory will open up the possibilities for far-reaching progressive reforms.

We are a party of Socialism. We are the party of a historic class, guided by historic experience. We do not ask the people of Canada to leap over every stage that intervenes between this and socialism. What we propose to them is that we shall stand shoulder to shoulder—the humblest among us with the greatest among us—and fight for those things that they want and are ready to fight for now, and must have now if Canada is to go forward.

That must become the platform of our Party in every section of this country. Our manifesto must be distributed in hundreds and thousands of copies throughout Canada. It is a message from this Convention to every man and woman in Canada who wants Canada to go forward. In this process of building up support for these progressive demands, our Party will be built. Our party can only grow in the course of struggles for the things that the people need. We are going to co-operate with every Canadian who will support efforts to achieve such gains. We shall continue to be guided in this struggle by our vision of a united labor movement in Canada.

We see in this tremendous democratic upsurge which has found expression in parliamentary

action an historic movement of the Canadian people: a movement towards independent political action, a movement towards establishment of that representative power of the people which will function in the interests of the people instead of the interests of those small groups which have heretofore exploited Canada regardless of the interests of the majority. This mighty democratic upsurge marks a tremendous forward step. It will bring lasting benefits to the majority of the people, however, only if, out of it, there is developed a unified political movement of progressive workers, farmers and middle class people who can guide that movement steadily forward in a struggle to elect farmer-labor governments and finally a government that will establish Socialism in Canada.

We are conscious of our responsibility towards this broad democratic movement and particularly towards that party which is now receiving such tremendous parliamentary support from the workers and farmers of Canada, the C.C.F. The question of unity with the C.C.F. is a question in which is involved the whole future of democratic progress in Canada. It is a question as to whether, as a result of growing consciousness of the need for unity, we move forward to the great days when we shall achieve a farmer-labor government

or we move backward and this broad democratic movement weakens and starts to decline.

We are convinced that in this stage of history, with the tremendous growth of the labor movement and the new-born consciousness of the Canadian people, it is possible to win the people of Canada for unity or at least for united action, provided our Party works properly and every member realizes that it is his or her responsibility just as much as it is mine and the National Committee's.

This does not mean that our Party will retire from the field of parliamentary activity; not at all. . . . Our Party can only be effective in the fight for unity as it becomes stronger. Our Party can only hold up the banner of parliamentary unity effectively as our Party wins more parliamentary seats. Our Party will nominate candidates in municipal, provincial and dominion constituencies—in every constituency where it is clear that a candidate of our Party is the logical choice as the labor candidate for that constituency. In the campaigns carried on by our candidates we shall develop broad understanding of the fundamental need for working-class unity and we shall start the building of that unity around the issues that life is raising.

I am absolutely confident that the small core of Labor-Progressive members of federal, provin-

cial and municipal bodies that we have with us here tonight—William Kardash, J. B. Salsberg, Stewart Smith, A. A. MacLeod, Fred Rose and Dorise Nielsen, Jack Penner, Martin J. Forkin, Joseph Zuken, Michael Buhay and Harry Hunter, are the nucleus of what is going to be a powerful band of labor-progressives in municipal, provincial and Dominion seats before the end of next year.

In the nomination of such candidates we shall strive by every possible means to bring about understanding and to secure co-operation between ourselves and the C.C.F. so as to avoid the danger that we shall be running against each other as happened in Cartier, in St. Andrew and so on. But we shall run our candidate in those constituencies which offer the prospect that I have outlined. In the event that there is a conflict between us and the C.C.F. that will not mean that we are weakening in any respect our fight for one united party. It will mean only, insofar as we are concerned, that we accept the political responsibility that must be accepted by a serious party of the working class and progressive farmers, dedicated to the development of independent labor political action in the real, immediate and ultimate, interests of the Canadian working class. We shall achieve unity with the C.C.F. because we are the party of national unity.

Our fight to abolish every vestige of national inequality from Quebec is a fight on behalf of the workers and the farmers of French Canada, but it is equally a fight for Canada as a whole. Our fight to abolish every vestige of inequality from Quebec is a fight for a more prosperous and happier Canada. Canada can only be as prosperous as her poorest province. Canada can only be as prosperous as her poorest citizen. So long as the standard of life in Quebec is below the average standard for Canada as a whole we cannot have a truly prosperous Canada.

So long as there is a division and antagonism between French and English Canada we cannot have a united nation, and until we have a united nation we cannot have a happy Canada. The struggle for the abolition of every vestige of national inequality in Quebec is a struggle for the unity of our country, and precisely because we can only abolish these injustices in Quebec as a result of the unity of the working-class movement, so the struggle to abolish these national inequalities is an integral part of the whole struggle to achieve Socialism in Canada. We cannot separate the two.

In this struggle we are fighting not only to abolish injustices, we are fighting to win the greatest ally, a mighty force for democratic progress that has yet to be won—the French-

Canadian people. No people in Canada have a tradition of struggle equal to the tradition of the people of French Canada. One needs only go into French Canada, to see the fervor, the spirit of struggle, that is in the French-Canadian people. The French-Canadian people fought for their right to govern themselves long generations before they had self-government. When they resisted the English invaders in 1759 they were fighting for their homes and native land even though they did not have self-government. The fact that large sections of them were conscious of the current of world events was demonstrated when, 31 years after, the Constitutional Club of Quebec sent a letter of greetings to the great French Revolution, as comrade Stanley Ryerson points out in his book. In 1812 the people of French Canada went out and fought at Chateaugay and defeated the trained troops of the invading American army. It is true they were still fighting for an imperialist power, but at the same time they were fighting for their homes, they were fighting for French Canada, for Quebec, and this same spirit enabled them to defeat the effort to destroy their national consciousness and unity by the operation of the Act of Union from 1841 to 1867. The British Government in alliance with the English Canadian ruling groups tried for 26 years to stamp out the French lan-

guage and French culture as a definite national expression in Canada. They failed.

The democratic homogeneity of the French-Canadian people, and the bond of their language, culture and their national sentiment were such that in 1867 the French-Canadian bourgeoisie were able to write their own terms in the agreements that became the British North America Act.

In 1917, when the French-Canadian people fought against conscription, they were fighting for their democratic rights to have a voice in deciding if, when, and under what conditions they would go to war. They decided that they had no interests in the war, and they waged a successful democratic struggle against conscription. All the French-Canadian people have a very deep, strong and conscious pride in their tradition of democratic struggle; and they constitute a third of our nation. They have deep-seated grievances which unite them in a way in which no other group is united. In the struggle to abolish these grievances, they, in unity with the progressive people of English-Canada, will transform Canada into a land of progress. They will transform the forces of progress from a minority to a majority—into the movement of the united Canadian people. Nothing will be able to stop us under those circumstances. Our struggle for the re-

removal of all vestiges of national inequality in French Canada is an integral part of the struggle to build up the movement that is really going to unite our nation in an invincible forward movement towards a Socialist Canada.

We are the party of Socialism — the party of all those Canadians who work by hand or brain, of all those who make Canada so marvellously rich, of all those people whose future efforts are going to make Canada great, the fathers and mothers of those boys and girls who are going to ultimately build, and govern, a Socialist Canada. We are that party because we see the task in front of us and because we dedicate ourselves to that task. We have adopted a program which in the spirit of the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism gives us direction right from the struggle to win the war, through the struggle for post-war progress, straight up to the struggle to transform Canada into a socialist state, on the road to the development of Communism and the withering away of the state as we know it.

On the basis of this program we can unite the people of Canada within and around our party, the Labor-Progressive Party. The highest reward that any one of us that has worked in this movement for years could ask for is the reward that you have bestowed upon us this evening — demonstrating your confidence by

electing us to your National Committee and asking us to be in the forefront of our Party in the development of these struggles. So far as we are concerned our task in these struggles is already outlined. You have given us our instructions. We know that the struggles will be hard. We know that reactionary interests will always seek new excuses and means of persecution. What happened in connection with our convention was an example of that. Comrade Sam Carr had arranged for a theatre for today's sessions, weeks ago. There was no suggestion as to any difficulty in using this theatre for these sessions.

Yet, yesterday, I received a letter telling us that the Provincial Government prohibited the use of the theatre for our convention. We have no cause to fear these things; bigger men than George Drew tried such things before the Canadian people underwent the present great awakening, and they failed. The Canadian people are marching forward now and they will answer Col. Drew.

We have no fear as to the outcome. Eight of us stood before Mr. Justice Wright in the Supreme Court of Ontario on November 13, 1931, convicted under the terms of the infamous and now discredited Section 98. Just before going in to meet the judge to be sentenced, we had decided that if we should get an opportunity to speak I

would speak for all eight of us and say only a few words. The only thing we told the judge was that we were proud of what we had done. We had no apologies to offer and no regrets; that our only hope was that we should always remain worthy of the confidence of those workers and farmers of Canada who had trusted our leadership. That is my pledge to you this evening on behalf of all of us whom you have elected to lead our party. We shall give everything, we shall do everything that can be done by human beings, to carry this Labor-Progressive Party forward, to make it one of the greatest parties of Canada, not only in number of members but in its influence on public life. . . . We are the party of Socialism. Through the struggle for victory and democratic progress we are going to lead Canada along the path to happiness—to Socialism and a better life!

